2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

pate in these expeditions: the men climbing the trees with the smaller type of conical twined openwork baskets, while the women wait below with the larger type, into which the men throw the nuts. At Lovelocks, Nevada, the constable, Mr. Wolf, as well as the Indian policeman, Frank Rhodes, told me that when the trees are not very high the Paviotso fit a long willow pole with a hook of some other kind of wood and knock down the burrs, thus eliminating the need for climbing. Rhodes said that nowadays the people limit their nutting trips to a period of from one to two weeks, or at most a month, but that formerly they used to go away for a much longer period.

The yellow powder of the *tsimá* flower was drunk with water and seeds.

The *ā̆ʙi* seeds were gathered in September in slues and ground on metates (*wi'kwá*) in the winter. Later in the fall they used to get *wará* seeds, which in flour form are called *wattá*. The *wāī'ⁱ* seeds grow in the mountains on sandy soil and are gathered in July. They are spread on one side of the metate and separated from the black husks, which are discarded. Then the metate is turned over, and the *tusú* muller is used in place of the separator. The stone slab rested on a large basketry tray (*tūmᵉ*) during the work of separation. The tray was moved from one side to another so as to throw out the husks. This kind of meal may be drunk either cold or boiled. The *ats'á* seeds grow in the valley. They are not shelled with the separator, but roasted with live coals in a tray and then put on a metate, ground into flour, put into a round basket, mixed with cold water, stirred and drunk. I had some *ā̆ʙúdz* seeds prepared for me. The metate rested on a *tū'mᵉ* tray. The seeds were rubbed with a sidewise movement into the tray in order to loosen the shells, which were then shaken out of the tray and into another *tū'mᵉ* together with the dust by means of a curious sidewise motion. The metate was reversed, and the seeds placed on it reduced to flour with the *tusú* by a forward and backward motion.

The Wind River Shoshoni said that about August their women used to gather roots, storing them in bags for the winter. Wild carrots were used all the time and are still gathered in the fall. They used a digging-stick of greasewood. Chokecherries and sarvisberries were pounded up and dried, and gooseberries were dried, but neither cherries nor berries were mixed with meat.

The Ute ground and boiled sunflower seeds, which were cached for the winter. Tule seeds were used for food. The *wīcⁱ* root was pounded up and the seeds used as soap for washing.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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A young Paviotso named John Toby showed me four arrows he had made. For some he had found points in the vicinity; one, I think, was slate, the other obsidian. All were three-feathered. A foreshaft of heavier wood was inserted into a lighter shaft hollowed out to the depth of two or three inches. The foreshaft was formerly of greasewood, but now Toby substitutes apple wood.

[824] 078 000

The Wind River Shoshoni mentioned two principal types of bow,—one a self-bow of birch wood, the other made from two mountain-sheep horns joined at the grip and sinew-backed. The bowstring was of sinew. They also would use one elkhorn, sawing it down the middle and splitting it, then wetting the fragments, heating them, and bending the whole into bow shape. Three pieces of buffalo horn were also united and strengthened with sinew in the middle; the back was smoothed and polished.

Wilson writes:—

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain-sheep horns, which were thrown into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow. Not many Indians had this kind; most of our Indians used bows made from white cedar strung with sinew along the back.[1]

Arrows, according to the same observer, were made from service-berry limbs dried for a whole year. These were straightened by pulling through a hole in an antelope horn straightener. Each shaft was then creased, feathered and supplied with a steel head, which of course was a substitute for the earlier flint point.[2]

The Shoshoni had buffalo-hide quivers fringed at the bottom and also carried a longer, narrower strip of buffalo skin as a bow case. They used the poggamoggan (*tü'mbi wá'topane*), the stone hanging loose from the handle. Quirts had long wooden handles.

The Wind River Shoshoni had men known as *naíəmapõ'naite*, which literally means "Does not know anything." (Cf. Crow: *warâaxe*, crazy; *ba+itsiretkā'ace*, not-knowing-anything). Such a man would carry a long flute (*wá'+i*) for his only weapon. In camp he would go round blowing it; in battle he would try to kill an enemy with it, whereupon he became a war chief and threw the flute away. It was strong enough to kill a man hit over the head with it.

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[1] Wilson, 1917, p. 107.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 Among the Southern Ute I neither saw a sweatlodge nor obtained a detailed account of its use but secured the highly significant statement both at Navaho Springs and at Ignacio that the Ute never poured water on the rocks used to heat their sudatories. The importance of this feature is due to its rarity and its occurrence among the Navajo. Says Washington Matthews:

> While the Indians of the North, pour water on the hot stones and give a steam bath, the Navahoes simply place stones, heated in a fire outside, on the floor of the sweat-house, cover the entrance with blankets, and thus raise a high heat that produces violent perspiration.[1]

However, according to other observers

> water is at times sprinkled upon the stones after the entrance has been closed with a blanket by the last of the bathers.[2]

At all events, the Ute and Navajo analogy indicates transmission in either direction.

343 515 The Paviotso of Pyramid Lake had the more usual method of pouring water on the hot rocks. Their sweatlodge (*tōpínaʙàgia*) was constructed of willow branches, and as many as four persons would go into it at a time. It was not resorted to in the summer on account of the heat, but only during the winter or cooler weather. These Paviotso did not plunge into a river after the sweating process, but the Fallon people said that they did go into cold water. I saw one sweatlodge frame, which was very small, though probably not lower than among the Crow, and thus giving the appearance of greater height. There was a single series of transverse withes. The rocks were not in the middle but all on one side; Joe Mandel, my interpreter, said this was because otherwise the inmates [782] would not have enough room. According to him, the sweating was ac- [178] companied with prayers to the Sun; nowadays only young men indulge in the practice, the old people do not care for it. The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory "*naʙárinana*." Here also the rocks were put on one 515 side of the lodge and water was poured on them. Women and men both 757 sweated themselves. It was considered good for rheumatism and also for other ailments.

000 Among the Wind River Shoshoni the practice had practically disappeared at the time of my visit: the only one who still sweated was an old part-Flathead carried on the Government roster as a Shoshoni. Formerly the Shoshoni went in partly to cleanse themselves, partly for curative reasons.[3] Into a round pit were placed hot rocks, and one man

[1] Matthews, 227.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 342.
[3] The therapeutic use of the sudatory is reported by Wilson, 75.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient), were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles). Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr. Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers, slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it. Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

N 486 177 489 W [134] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. KR: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 W [135] 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 172] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tōtsikwōkwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tō: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{ep}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [534] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

N [172 756] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

N [178 756] 1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

[p. 401(5)]

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

Paraphernalia

The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indication of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird, stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[10]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámak^{gwa}odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another. The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer hoofet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The

[10] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from any other bird.

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

The shaman's pipe (tɔ̀ic) has a tubular bowl with a wooden stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ̀ic).

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions.

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in-

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
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stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped."

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title.

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was responsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office.

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[11] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] [231] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

[113]

[11] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than words of how the weight was released. 224

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from 291 [136] [172]

224

Fig. 25.—Traps. a, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; b, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east. Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin. 291 [172] [178] [231] [136] [224]

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill. 224

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings." Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction." For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue." Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains."

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped." The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

" U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

" Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

" My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

" Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

" La Barre, 72.

" Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[a] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[b] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[c] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[a] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[b] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "gives you the same effect as whiskey."

[c] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[d] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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175 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958)
648 gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility [62] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute [178] led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated [423] with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the
114 horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called com-
231 posite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting
178 groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this develop-
621 ment, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

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N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. W [668] However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. W [18] [623] Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

9. d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

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In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

W 177 178

Summary and Conclusions

N W 105

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 105 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected, by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

W [106]

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.

N W 105 177 178 ● W [186] [668] [464]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

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3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.